/208 cont./

342 arshin and more in thickness. Above these walls there is a row of wooden beams, on which several crossbeams are fastened to support the ceiling. The latter is made of /209/ brushwood, reeds, and grass, and layers of sod are put on it. The kstau have no roofs. A small door is made in the wall facing the yard. On the opposite side one or two insignificant windows are fashioned -- or more precisely holes with only glass or a bladder stretched [354] over them (1). The building is divided into two halves; the

1. In summer the window frames with the glass or the bladders are usually taken out and stored somewhere to avoid loss or breakage.

front one is the dirtier one in which the stove is placed (usually an unbaked brick one, consisting of two enclosures, in one of which the kettle /kazan/ is set, while the other is used for baking baursaki, melting tallow, etc.). The young rams and calves, 342 the harness of the horses, and piles of other farm equipment are 353 also kept in this half. The back half (two to three sagenes long), 352 two sagenes wide, and 1 sagene high) is almost filled with bunks [231] on which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ eat and sleep. Stakes are driven into the walls, and clothing, the best harness, felt, etc. are 342 hung on them. At night the mud hut is lighted by a tallow candle [354] /sal'nik/ (a wick with sheep tallow in a cup). From all that has been said of the winter quarters, /illustration appears here/ one can imagine the kind of crowdedness, dirt, and suffocating heat [184] the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to endure in winter. In general the [556] winter quarters of the richer Kirghiz /Kazak/ in localities without forests differ little from the one described, except that they are cleaner.

343 Close to his own quarters the Kirghiz /Kazak/ builds stalls for the sheep, which have the same structure as the dwelling, except that they lack windows and an oven. In addition two other sod structures are built, one on the order of a storehouse, 000 and the other for the dzhetak laborers. Then there are lighter

/211 cont./

262 Kumiss -- mare's milk fermented with spirits -- should be
292 acknowledged as the chief food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. A special
[252] bag of smoked leather, called "tursuk," is used for the preparation
[415] and storing of kumiss. A wooden /212/ /illustration appears here/ stirrer is used to stir the kumiss while it is being prepared, and each time before it is used. The best kumiss is found among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Kokchetav uyezd, as they

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343
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Winter quarters (kstau) of a well-to-do Kirghiz /Kazak/ in a wooded locality (yard, the buildings around it, and the house).

262 have the best pasture facilities for their livestock. In summer most
[272] of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ live primarily on kumiss, drinking great quantities of it. Other milk products consumed include "airan" -- sour cow's milk -- and various kinds of cheese, including "kurt," a roasted sheep's-milk cheese with small curds, "yeremchik," a sour cow's-milk cheese, and others. Meat is eaten primarily in winter, and most often mutton and lamb, because it is cheaper. Horsemeat appears only in
[252] exceptional cases, as a delicacy. Meat is almost always boiled (in the kazan) and only rarely roasted. First the meat is eaten (with the
[264] hands) and then the fat, "surpa," is drunk from large wooden cups. Smoked meat is also eaten. Wild game and fish are rarely eaten, and vegetables are likewise uncommon.

/217 cont./

583 about the bride-money indicate that the groom's side pays it and
[556] the bride's side receives it./ Among the rich it goes up to 300 head, while among the poor it can happen that they give only one cow.

585 The wedding is made up of the following elements: the agreement and the processions of the parents, the groom's visit to the bride, the journey of the bride to the groom, and the prayer of the mullah. All this is arranged with various ceremonies and especially with gifts. /Illustration appears here./

585 After an unofficial agreement has been reached, the father
574 of the groom, with his rich and most illustrious kinsmen, rides to the parents of the bride. The guests are taken care of by the female relatives of the bride, who serve and look after the new arrivals. The latter must "buy themselves off" with gifts or witty conversation. If this is not forthcoming, the guests are threatened not only with mockery, but also danger. The women forcibly dress such guests in women's clothing, bathe them fully clothed in water, shave their moustaches and beards, harness them to vehicles, tie them to turning wheels, etc. All this is done
585 in the sight of the whole village. The father of the bride
[262] regales those who are present with the tastiest dish -- "kuyryuk-baur" (the best parts of the horse, fat-tail sheep fat, and liver, all covered with a sauce made of sheep's cheese /kurt/, called "zuzduk"). To eat this dish means to tie the first bridal knot.

/218/ After this visit, the father and kinsmen of the bride ride to the groom's father for the receipt of the bride-money or
[574] most of it. The arrival is accompanied by a small feast. When they depart the groom sends "uletry" to the village of the bride, which is horsemeat or other meat as a gift to the women of the village.

After the agreement and the payment of the bride-money, the groom receives the right to visit the bride. These visits have an essential importance, being the beginning of the mar-
[583] riage. Thus, in case of the death of the groom or bride after

S 563 K 342 of stable construction. The common people build their winter tents with walls of interwoven twigs, sun-dried bricks and mud or soil filled with roots of grass. The winter quarters of the wealthy are of wood or stone. The common tent has but one room, shared by the family and their animals. The rich have numerous outbuildings, corrals for the different kinds of animals, storage places for the hay, and even stables.

K [556] [184]

The settled Kazakhs are those who have, for economic reasons, adopted the sedentary life of the farmer. Usually too poor to own animals or the equipment to move around, they stay in one place for harvesting and making hay. They live the year around in the same sturdy tent, adding an inner-lining of felt for protection from the winter winds.

K [361]

b. Food

S 563 K 262 [191] [202]

The diet of the people is the same as that of the New Uighurs. They are meat-eaters, though the very poor cannot afford to have it often. Their special festival dish is horse-meat sausage. Their specialties for entertaining are fermented mare's milk, horse-meat sausage and pilav. Brick tea is used in quantities. Their pilav differs from that of the New Uighurs in that they substitute dried apricots and dates for onion, garlic and carrots.

c. Clothing

S 563 K 291 [171] [556]

Both men and women dress like the New Uighurs except for color. The men's inner garments are white, red or purple, and their cotton outer robes are black. Women usually dress in white or black. Instead of a cotton sash, a man wears a leather belt. A rich man's belt is ornamented with stones, coral, silver or gold. Accessories such as a knife and a leather pouch are hung on the belt. Instead of a hat, married women wear long turbans of cotton print. After she has been married for a couple of years, a woman's colorful turban is taken down by her mother-in-law and replaced by a white one. This act indicates that the young woman has earned a more important position in the family, and corresponds to the "coming of age" of New Uighur wives. Young Kazakh girls wear their hair braided like their New Uighur sisters.

K [885]

3. Social values, customs and etiquette

S 563 K 769 191

Traditions and customs of the Kazakhs are almost the same as those practiced by the New Uighurs. Funerals and wedding ceremonies are the same except that the Kazakhs celebrate the anniversary of a death with a big festival, like a birthday or a wedding, whereas the New Uighurs commemorate the occasion only with prayer. On this day the close friends, relatives and family members of a deceased Kazakh bring their own tents and food to the graveyard. The host provides food and drink. There are games and races, singing and dancing.

000 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 K 685 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The Kazakh will steal only from someone who has been unfriendly toward him, and generally he will steal only animals, which cannot be well hidden. The idea behind the act is to show courage, and if the theft goes unnoticed, the thief feels proud of his cleverness. Once the theft is discovered, however, the thief willingly admits he has been outwitted, and submits to punishment. It is customary for the apprehended thief to repay nine times the property stolen; that is, if he has stolen one sheep, he must give its owner nine sheep.

S 563 K 574 The Kazakhs are noted for their hospitality. In theory, they must keep what amounts to open house for travelers, including enemies and strangers, and a guest may stay indefinitely without paying for food or lodging. It would be very bad form for a host to ask a guest to leave. Furthermore, the welfare of the guest is the responsibility of the tent owner. A traveler may claim damages if he has suffered from hunger or exhaustion in the vicinity of any camp ground.

Obviously such laws of hospitality impose a heavy burden upon the host, and for that reason the Kazakhs try to avoid camping near routes of travel. Some even conceal their tents behind the hills. In practice, the traditional hospitality is kept only by the wealthy, and then, "A visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his 'tribe' and the number of his ancestors." (Hudson 1938: 73.) That is, for a guest of importance the host would kill a sheep, whereas a poor visitor would be served only tea or milk.

K [556] [554]

S 563 K 608 Sworn brotherhood is a practice prevalent among the Kazakhs, a relationship which may be formed between two persons of different blood groups. A very solemn ceremony takes place when two persons take the oath of brotherhood. They may swear on the Koran, or "embrace one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each other, taking oath that they would be friends to one another for a specific time or for life." (ibid.) Such brothers share each other's happiness or sorrow, and personal and family property. The offspring of the sworn brothers may continue this relationship. Women, too, may fraternize in this way, and it is said that the relationship may even be formed between two persons of the opposite sex.

S 563 K 576 264 574 [171] The Kazakhs practice the same etiquette as the New Uighurs, with a few noteworthy variations. At feasts, the animals to be eaten are always killed in the presence of the guests, to honor the guests and indicate that they are being offered the best. Another strict custom, observed by both men and women, is to wear a hat or cap at meals. If a guest has forgotten his hat, he is given a stick of straw to adorn his head. To eat bareheaded is an insult to the others present.

[Great Horde]
-419-

177 The reason is clear: the ak sŭök or white "bone" had been
66 the political rulers in the steppe in view of their des-
565 cent from Khans and illustrious exponents of Islam.
While they had remained the political rulers of the Kazakhs
it was important to maintain the quality of their estate
by recourse to a rule of endogamy, thus preserving their
[556] superiority over the black "bone." When the political
meaning of the separateness disappeared,[1] the practice of
endogamy between the estates disappeared; and correlated
with this change was the greater emphasis on wealth for
social distinction: we have seen how the bii was often
chosen at this time because of his wealth rather than by
birth.[2]

The ak sŭök no longer had any legal privileges;
their principal mark of social distinction was in terms
of respect, a special place at feasts and ceremonies,
and so forth.[95] Thus the estate in the past was a po-
litical structure embodying principles of the consan-
guineal system of the Kazakhs. It disappeared, but the
kinship system upon which it was based remained in an
altered form.

621 The nomadic village was until Russian times a patri-
lineal kin group, a portion of a lineage. It conformed
to the theory of the corporate structure advanced here

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[95] Idem.

1 [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 414 -- Analyst]
2 [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

Marriage in the Great Horde

551 595 A Kazakh proverb runs: "A Sart (agricultural Turk of Central Asia) who becomes rich builds himself a house; a Kazakh who becomes rich buys himself wives."[122] In this proverb a number of values in the Kazakh system are made clear: the relationship between marriage and wealth--notably bridewealth; the relationship between polygyny and wealth, in addition to the explicit content of the proverb, that wealth is a means to the end of acquiring wives, that a high social value is placed on polygyny.

835 The rules of marriage have been already mentioned in connection with the definition of lineage exogamy, and the definition of the lineage by the rule of exogamy. The question of the rules of marriage may now be raised in respect to the family, where in addition to lineage exogamy, the following marriage rules were in force at the end of the 19th century:

1. A father cannot marry his daughter-in-law's mother.

2. Two brothers cannot marry two sisters.

In these two rules, relationship in the maternal line is as powerful a determinant as that in the paternal line. The sons of brothers are permitted to marry sisters, despite the prohibition placed on brothers marrying sisters.

3. Marriage with the step-mother, step-sister or step-daughter is strictly forbidden.

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[122] Lingelstedt, 155.

562 bridepriee. But she was in fact not a res, an instru-
568 mentum, there was no question of the husband's having
581 dominium over her, the power of the Roman master over
his slave.[139] The marriage arrangements, the exchange of gifts, the supplying of the dowry to the wife, the payment of the kalym, may be regarded as stipulations in a contract for the services of the wife necessary to keep the husband's line alive. The terms of the contract, understood in an analogical sense, were fulfilled on the birth of a son; hence the rise in status of the woman when she had borne a son, rather, her accession to full status as a woman.

583 The wife's dowry varied according to the ability of
584 her father to supply her with one. The rich Kazakh supplied his daughter with a sumptuous dowry, which the family's prestige required to be the equal of the husband's kalym. A Kazakh of middle means was capable of supplying only a modest dowry, which in general was less than the kalym; the poor Kazakh supplied his daughter with no dowry, and received little or no kalym in exchange.[140]
[591] Both kalym and dowry were part of an intricate exchange pattern which accompanied the movement of a woman from one community to another; her movement was in conformity with the rule of patrilocal residence on marriage.

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[139] H. Maine, Ancient Law, 90-91.

[140] Izvestsov, 82.

621 necessary to distinguish between tents and families, contrary to the identification made by the estimates and censuses. Radlov's data are offered as being general for the Kazakhs; they are the result of his studies and travels in the latter third of the 19th century, presumably referring to the winter camps. Meyendorff's figure is for what he considered a large aul, nevertheless it falls within the lower limit of Radlov's range. In the interim the Kazakhs took up agriculture to an even greater extent; there is no difficulty therefore in accepting the validity of both observations, in fact they tend to corroborate each other. The neighboring Kalmuks had winter groupings of similar size, and from these various considerations we may derive a picture of an aul in the western steppe.

622 The relation of such an aul to the question of kin-
056 ship has already been proposed: they were in general groupings of families agnatically related to each other. Meyendorff's account further points up the relationship between the Kazakh aul and wealth. A rich Kazakh attracted to himself wider and wider circles of kin and formed his own village, and in this connection Meyendorff cites a line in a song, "See this aul which is that of a wealthy man." Again, we are endebted to Meyendorff for the observation that the village elder or aksakal was usually a man of substance, with a large family.[183]

[183] Meyendorff, 45-47.

622 Compare the villages of the Great Horde, where a village
632 head or elder was the one with the greatest number of kinsmen to support his point of view--in those cases where a village was not consanguineally related in a homogeneous manner.

624 Thus auls among the Kazakhs of the Little Horde and elsewhere were headed by men of wealth as well as by men of rank through birth: the case of the aul of fifty tents mentioned above was the aul of a nobleman of the Little Horde. There remains the question of the composition of the clusters of from three to six tents noted by Meyendorff. These were in all likelihood family groups composed of a father, his wife or wives, who would then get separate tents, and his married sons and their children; possibly also tents of servants, or dependent kinsmen, etc. Karuts has given a schematic description of the Kazakh aul, identical with that of the Turkmen: The Turkmen and Kazakhs live in auls, clusters of tents based on family or lineage relationship; the tents are ranged either in a straight line or in a gentle curve open to the south. The consanguineal principle in aul formation is further noted in the fact that there may be as few as two tents in an aul, one for a father and his wife, and one for a married son.[184] This is probably truer of summer camps than winter, however, because of

[184] Karuts, Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen, 65.

[Little Horde - Mangyshlak Kazaks]

584 582 On the Mangyshlak Peninsula at the turn of the century, the betrothal was usually arranged while the prospective pair were still children, between three and eight years of age.[188] The marriage itself did not take place for several years, until the children were ten or eleven years old at the earliest, including leviratic marriage.[189] The general tendency in marriage, however, was for it to take place between the ages of thirteen to fifteen years, which corresponds to reports elsewhere in the Kazakh steppe; among the rich, on the other hand, it might wait until the couple were twenty years old.[190]

556 584 There was a broad distinction between wealthy Kazakhs and poor Kazakhs; the rich tended to marry the rich, and the poor married the poor, for the bridewealth necessary for a rich wife was beyond the means of a poor Kazakh.[191] However, if a family of moderate means wished to acquire a wealthy family connection, it might seek for a wife for its son in those quarters, but the marriage would then have to be delayed considerably until the entire kalym, or a major portion of it, had been paid.[192]

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188 Karuts, op. cit., 37.

189 Altynsarin, 101.

190 Plotnikov, 123-124.

191 Karuts, op. cit., 37.

192 Plotnikov, loc. cit.

[Little Horde]

583 The kalym was typically the value of forty-seven horses, 536a figure often encountered elsewhere in the Kazakh hordes, close to Radlov's figure of seven sevens. Alternately, the typical kalym might be fifty horses, or the equivalent in the Little Horde.[193] All these figures agree closely. On the other hand, a rich Kazakh of the Little Horde generally paid twice or even three times that amount in the kalym for a first-class marriage, while a marriage of slightly lesser éclat might involve a kalym of from 75 to 100 horses or the equivalent. Finally, a poor Kazakh might pay as little as ten horses for his kalym.[194]

583 The family of the bride undertook to give the girl a dowry on her marriage, and that property which she brought with her was called kiit.[195] On the other hand, a certain sum was given by the family of the groom to the family of the bride, "for the adornment of the daughter-in-law"--bas dżaksa.[196] The value of the wealth exchanged in these various arrangements was always greater on the side of the husband's family than on the side of the wife's. The wife-receivers had to pay doubly, to the wife's family, and to the wife herself for her

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[193] Altynsarin, 104.

[194] Balliuzek, 76.

[195] Karutz, op. cit., 38.

[196] Altynsarin, 104.

[Little Horde]

equal to that of the sons in the inde, her share taking the form of a dowry or marriage portion.[219] Unfortunately, it is nowhere corroborated that the inde was of recent date (as of the year 1878), and the equal participation of the daughter was definitely limited to wealthy Kazakhs, who made a dotal settlement equal to the kalym they received for the daughter as a matter of prestige.

It is the ideal family situation which is here described: the wealthy family could afford to realize in practice the family ideal by maintaining the extended family unity. When the son was portioned off, he remained within the family enclave or aul, which was in turn identical with the extended family of the wealthy. For in such a case, the collateral lines, including father's younger brothers, and their sons, and their sons' sons, lived together with the father, his sons, and their families and offspring in one great community. When Pater Schmidt equates the Grossfamilie with the aul of the Kirgis-Kazakh, his equation can be accepted in the light of the considerations here entertained: that it relates to the ideal family, the sought-after family, the wealthy family.[220]

In the transmission of the property from one gen-

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[219] Idem.

[220] Schmidt, Eigentum, 167.

[Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 486-488--Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

621 the nomads in question occupied the steppe northeast of Zaisan Nur,
• 556 around the uppermost course of the Chorny (Black) Irtysh,
[101] as semi-sedentary farmer-herders in the 1920's: the
433 poorest Kazakhs dwelled in the winter camps the year
round, and supported themselves by caring for their own
farming plots and those of the wealthier Kazakhs and by
hunting. The wealthier Kazakhs, in contrast, maintained
a mixed economy, based mainly on herding, but with some
farming, aided by the poorer Kazakhs. They were for the
most part Naiman, with some Kereit elements among them. 268
Hence the following account of aul nomadism is to be
[117.62] understood as an advanced state of acculturation, and
connected only to the pastoralism of moderate and wealthy
Kazakhs. 2/A

621 The aul in its several variations was entirely a
kin unit among these Kazakhs. The Kazakh aul elsewhere,
even at an earlier period, no longer comprised a homo-
geneous kin group. This was not so among the northeast-
ernmost Kazakhs. The auls of the latter fall into two
categories: the fully nomadic auls, such as those of
the Kazakhs in the Kosh-Agach aimak (Oirot Autonomous
Oblast'); 269 and auls which are entirely sedentary, such
as those of the poor Kazakhs mentioned above, members

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268 Ibid., 1-3, 82.

269 Samoilovich, 312.

1/A [For further background on the Altai Kazakhs, cf. Cat. 116, AMI Mongolia, p. 523ff.--Analyst]

2/A [For further data, cf. Cat. 116, AMI Mongolia, pp. 537-544.--Analyst]

621 There is a correlation between the wealth of a Kazakh community and small size, its pastoral life requiring that it be small and mobile, and its composition by closely and homogeneously related kin. In this manner, the wealth, size, and consanguineal composition are all interrelated.

621 That the validity of this four-fold correlation
433 is not restricted to the northeastern Kazakh domain may
556 be seen in an example drawn from the western portion, in the old territory of the Little Horde. Here it has been reported for the same period, the 1920's, that the poorer Kazakhs took up agriculture, the richer maintained a mixed economy of herding and farming; the auls of the richer Kazakhs were composed only of close kin, while in the encampments of the poorer, two or three different, unrelated groups of kin were joined together.[273] From this we may infer a correlation between economic pursuit, wealth or poverty, and consanguineal composition of auls of the Little Horde; unfortunately, the fourth element in the correlation, that of size, cannot be confirmed for lack of data.

621 The Altai Mountain Kazakhs of the Middle Horde
233 moved as a unit from winter to summer pasturage provided the aul was small; if the aul was large, it broke up into

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[273] Ibid., 1927, 8-10; Bukei Khan, 60-62.

621 233 component extended family or close-kin groups for the summer movements.[274] These aul, in the northeast of Kazakhstan, were disposed in a line just as those in the western parts were,[275] in contrast to the nomadic village of the Khalkhas and Buryats which was circular in form.

621 556 The aul of the poor were generally larger than those of the wealthy because they were sedentary, and were identical with the Kazakh winter encampment kystau/kstau, where farming was engaged in. The Kazakh summer camp dzailiau was smaller, more mobile, nomadic, pastoral, wealthier, related through close patrilineal ties. All these camps bore the names of their founders. For example, in the genealogy of M. Chamov cited above,[1] his paternal ancestor in the fifth ascending generation, Kuldja-Bai, was the founder of the aul of which Chamov himself was the leader. This aul founder was the great-grandson of the sŏŏk founder, Sargaldak, and the grandson of the founder of Chamov's ata, Sary, and the aul itself bore the name of Kuldja-Bai. The head of this aul was also the head of the clan, since by right of primogeniture, the two offices coincided; thus the great-grandfather ul ata of Chamov was Biuydakan.[276] It was

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[274] Rudenko, 1930, 8.

[275] Ibid., 54.

[276] Samoilovich, 307.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 528 ff. --Analyst]

596 and valuistically oriented toward the need for sons, patricentric-filiocentric. The Kazakh family in the early Soviet era was conservative, even archaic in these respects; in others, a number of acculturative innovations had intervened. The eradication of the distinction between black bone and white bone had been complete by then; the social stratification was now simplified to rich and poor; even influence reckoned in terms of the number of kinsmen came to play a subordinate role.[284] A wealthy Kazakh would find those eager to establish a close agnatic relationship with him, support him in disputes, and thus seek his favor.

595 The factor of wealth determined not only the number of those who asserted close consanguinity, it also correlated directly with affinity. Polygyny was permitted and continued to be practiced into the 1920's,[285] although the Soviet regime sought half-heartedly to make monogamy universal (checked at that time by a laissez-faire policy toward nationalities). The wealthy Kazakh could afford plural wives, although he rarely had more than two; there is one case of an exceptionally important man who had three wives, but his circumstances indicate his outstanding position; for example, his aul had 13 tents in it, whereas the aul in these parts ranged between

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[284] Ibid., 66.

[285] Ibid., 67.

three and eight tents.[286] The Kazakh of moderate means could afford to have only one wife; but there were those who were without families at all, and these were the very poor.[287]

The relationship between wealth and family composition was intermediated by the continued existence of the kalym.[1] But there was also a relationship between consanguinity and affinity, because a man's kin contributed to the payment of the required bridewealth;[288] if he had no consanguineal kin and no wealth of his own, he might even go unmarried. Thus we may observe, on yet another level, the inter-functioning of patrilineality, marriage, and wealth.

The bride on her part brought as her dowry a tent and household goods, as well as livestock to her husband. The dowry, however, was not fully integrated into the family estate, i.e., the husband's patrimony, for, in Kazakh customary law, the husband could not dispose of the wife's dowry without her agreement.[289] And in this we have a line of continuity from the earliest records of the Turks of the 6th to 8th centuries, A.D., into the

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[286] Ibid., 54.

[287] Ibid., 67.

[288] Idem.

[289] Idem.

[1] [i.e. in the 1920's; cf. cat. 116, AH1 Mongolia, p. 244ff. -- Analyst]